

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3599

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5069

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE, PARM

SUBJ: CSCE/CBMS: POLADS' SEPTEMBER 16 DISCUSSION

REF: A. MOSCOW 13157 DTG 160937Z SEP 75
B. USNATO 4913 DTG 101730Z SEP 75 (NOTAL)
C. BERLIN 6356 DTG 111715Z SEP 75 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: SEPTEMBER 16 DISCUSSION OF CBMS IN NATO POLITICAL COMMITTEE (POLADS) CENTERED LARGELY ON EVIDENCE OF SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN ATTEMPTS TO TAKE PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE OF ALLIED CSCE/CBMS MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS. FRENCH REP SUGGESTED PERHAPS ALLIED APPROACH TO CBM IMPLEMENTATION WAS TOO FORTHCOMING, AND ALLIES SHOULD TEMPER THEIR ZEAL PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO "VOLUNTARY" MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS. US REP SAID IT WAS TOO EARLY TO DRAW CONCLUSION THAT ALLIED APPROACH HAS NOT BEEN THE PROPER ONE. HE SUGGESTED THAT A PUBLIC AFFAIRS APPROACH MIGHT BE A MORE APPROPRIATE WAY TO ANSWER CHARGES OF INCREASES IN THE NUMBER, SIZE AND FREQUENCY OF NATO EXERCISES. POLADS AGREED TO COLLABORATE ON A PROPOSED ALLIANCE PRESS STATEMENT, AND DANISH REP THOUGHT SYG LUNS MIGHT USE SUCH A STATEMENT DURING HIS SEPTEMBER 25 PUBLIC APPEARANCE IN COPENHAGEN. AMBASSADORS MAY BE ASKED TO CONSIDER PROPOSED NATO PRESS STATEMENT AT DEC 19 NAC. ACTION: REQUEST GUIDANCE BY SEPTEMBER 19. END SUMMARY.

1. POLADS' DISCUSSION OF CBMS BEGAN WITH BRIEF REPORTS FROM FRG, CANADIAN AND US REPS ON EXPERIENCES IN CONNECTION WITH GIVING SEPTEMBER 10 "REFORGER" AND "CERTAIN TREK" NOTIFICATIONS IN CSCE CAPITALS. IN THIS CONNECTION, FRG REP (CITRON) CALLED ATTENTION TO SOVIET COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE NUMBER, SIZE AND FREQUENCY OF NATO EXERCISES. SPECIFICALLY, HE CITED THE KHARLANOV STORY IN PRAVDA AND THE SEPTEMBER 10 SOVIET TV ITEM (BOTH REPORTED IN REF A); AND THE AUGUST 30 KRASNAYA ZVYEZDA ARTICLE (REPORTED REF B). FRENCH REP (GUELLUY) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WERE DISTURBED BY THE PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE WHICH THE ALLIED MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS SEEM TO AFFORD TO THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS. HE CITED A RECENT STATEMENT BY DRV FIRST SECRETARY HONECKER INTERPRETING CSCE RESULTS; AND FROM THIS BACKGROUND, FRENCH REP SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS ALLIES HAVE BEEN TOO ZEALOUS IN BUILDING A RECORD OF ENTHUSIASTIC COMPLIANCE WITH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF CBM
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PROVISIONS. HE THOUGHT THIS TRUE ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO "VOLUNTARY" NOTIFICATIONS OF SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS SUCH AS THE NORWEGIAN NOTIFICATION OF EXERCISE "BATTEN BOLT 75" WHICH INCLUDED "ONLY APPROXIMATELY 8,000 TROOPS". FRENCH REP PROCEEDED TO LABEL AS "UNREALISTIC" THE IDEA THAT SUCH A NOTIFICATION WOULD INDUCE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO RECIPROCATATE WITH NOTIFICATIONS OF THEIR MANEUVERS INVOLVING 10,000 TROOPS OR LESS. THE FRENCH VIEWPOINT RECEIVED UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT FROM THE ITALIAN REP (FERRETTI), AND BELGIAN REP (CZETWERTYNSKI) ALSO SEEMED INCLINED TO AGREE.

2. US REP (LEDOGAR) TOOK EXCEPTION TO THE FRENCH ANALYSIS SAYING HE FELT AT A MINIMUM IT WAS TOO SOON TO DRAW THE CONCLUSION THAT THE AGREED ALLIED APPROACH TO CBM IMPLEMENTATION WAS FAULTY

AND OUGHT TO BE MODIFIED. HE SAID ALLIES AS YET HAVE NO CLEAR EVIDENCE OF SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO CBM IMPLEMENTATION. IT SEEMED LIKELY THAT THE WARSAW PACT SIDE WAS WRESTLING WITH SOME TOUGH DECISIONS. IN ANY EVENT, THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA EXPLOITATION OF ALLIED MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS WAS TRANSPARENT AND HEAVY-HANDED, AND PROBABLY OUGHT TO BE DEALT WITH AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING BY MEANS OF A COORDINATED ALLIED PUBLIC AFFAIRS POLICY FOR USE BY NATO AND NATIONAL PRESS SPOKESMEN.

3. FRG, TURKISH AND UK REPS SUPPORTED US VIEW THAT IT WAS CLEARLY PREMATURE TO RECONSIDER ALLIED POLICY TOWARD CBM IMPLEMENTATION. UK REP PROPOSED THAT NATO/IS TRY ITS HAND AT DRAFTING FOR POLADS' CONSIDERATION A NATO PRESS STATEMENT WHICH WOULD ANSWER SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN CHARGES THAT ALLIED MANEUVERS WERE INCREASING IN NUMBER, SIZE AND FREQUENCY AS COMPARED TO PREVIOUS YEARS. THIS PROPOSAL RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT. DANISH REP (MORCH) RECALLED THAT SYG LUNS WILL ADDRESS THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY ANNUAL SESSION IN COPENHAGEN ON SEPTEMBER 25. DANISH REP THOUGH THIS OCCASION MIGHT PRESENT AN APPROPRIATE PUBLIC FORUM FOR THE SYG TO CALL ATTENTION TO SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO TAKE PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE OF ALLIED EFFORTS AT CONFIDENCE BUILDING.

4. THE FOLLOWING REUTERS STORY MOVED WITHIN A FEW HOURS AFTER THE MEETING:

BEGIN TEXT:

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NATO: BY JAMES FOLEY

BRUSSELS SEP 16, REUTER -- THE SOVIET UNION IS STAGING MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS WITHOUT FIRST ADVISING THE NATO NATIONS AS PROVIDED BY THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE DECLARATION, INFORMED SOURCES AID TODAY.

THEY SAID THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOT TOLD NATO'S 15 MEMBER STATES THAT ITS TROOPS WERE ABOUT TO ENGAGE IN MILITARY EXERCISES. UNDER PROVISIONS OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE DECLARATION AGREED IN HELSINKI IN JULY, SIGNATORY NATIONS SAID THEY WOULD SERVE NOTICE TO EACH OTHER OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND MANEUVERS TO HELP INCREASE CONFIDENCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF LEONID BREZHNEV SIGNED ON BEHALF OF HIS COUNTRY AT THE 35-NATION CONFERENCE.

THE SOURCES SAID THAT UNDER THE DECLARATION, SIGNATORY STATES ARE OBLIGED TO SEND OUT ADVISORIES WHEN MORE THAN 25,000 OF THEIR TROOPS ARE INVOLVED IN AN EXERCISE.

NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER EXERCISES, AS WELL AS INVITATIONS TO OTHER STATES TO SEND OBSERVERS TO THE MANEUVERS ARE VOLUNTARY. THE SOURCES SAID THAT NATO HAS SENT SEVERAL MESSAGES TO MOSCOW SAYING THAT THE ALLIANCE WAS ABOUT TO CONDUCT MANEUVERS, BOTH FOR THOSE INVOLVING MORE THAN 25,000 MEN AS WELL AS SMALLER EXERCISES.

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AMEMBASSY ROME

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MOREOVER THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT LAST WEEK INVITED THE SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS ITS WARSAW PACT PARTNERS, TO SEND OBSERVERS TO A SIX-DAY EXERCISE CODENAMED "CERTAIN TREK" BEGINNING IN BAVARIA ON OCTOBER 15.

THE SOURCES SAID THAT THE RUSSIANS AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAD NOT YET RESPONDED TO THE INVITATION. END TEXT.

5. COMMENT: WHILE WE HAVE SEEN A CERTAIN NUMBER OF REPORTS (INCLUDING THOSE IN REFTELS) OF COMMUNIST EFFORTS TO DISTORT FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN ALLIED CBM MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS, WE FEEL WE STILL DO NOT HAVE A CLEAR PICTURE OF WHETHER THIS IS A WIDE-SPREAD CONCERTED SOVIET OR WP TACTIC, OR SIMPLY KNEEJERK REACTIONS OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDISTS WHO AWAIT AUTHORITATIVE GUIDANCE ON HOW THE SOVIETS WILL HANDLE CBM IMPLEMENTATION. IT DOES SEEM CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE AGREED ALLIED POLICY--OF BUILDING A RECORD OF FORTHCOMING CBM COMPLIANCE AGAINST WHICH TO MEASURE THE PERFORMANCE OF THE OTHER SIDE--IS NOT YET RIPE FOR REASSESSMENT. ITS EFFECTS ARE NOT YET KNOWN AND, IN OUR VIEW, UNTIL SUCH TIME AS WE HAVE A CLEARER IDEA OF SOVIET INTENTIONS ON CBMS IMPLEMENTATION, FRENCH INCLINATIONS TO BE MORE RELUCTANT ABOUT MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS SHOULD BE RESISTED. PERHAPS A BILATERAL US REPRESENTATION TO THE SOVIETS IN MOSCOW SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS A MEANS OF EMPHASIZING OUR SERIOUSNESS ABOUT CBM IMPLEMENTATION AND OUR DISTRESS THAT ALLIED MEASURES HAVE BEEN MET THUSFAR WITH PROPAGANDA INSTEAD OF RECIPROCITY. WE DEFER TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IN THIS REGARD.

6. CONCERNING A NATO PRESS STATEMENT, WE BELIEVE THIS COULD BE A USEFUL INTERIM STEP IF DONE WITH SOME DELICACY. SUCH A PRESS STATEMENT SHOULD BE FACTUAL AND SHOULD CAREFULLY AVOID DRAWING ANY CONCLUSIONS ABOUT SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO EVENTUAL CBM IMPLEMENTATION. THE LANGUAGE IN PARA 8 BELOW IS FIRST DRAFT OF NATO/IS OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR DRAFTING THE PROPOSED NATO PRESS STATEMENT. THE FACTS ALLEGED IN IT WILL REQUIRE VERIFICATION BY THE NATO/IMS. WHEN THE COMPLETED DRAFT IS CIRCULATED, WE WILL REPORT IT PROMPTLY.

7. WE HAVE JUST LEARNED THAT NATO/IS DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT MAY BE CIRCULATED AT SEPT 19 NAC FOR CONSIDERATION OF AMBASSADORS.
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8. BEGIN TEXT OF PROPOSED NATO PRESS STATEMENT ON BCMS:
ONE OF THE IMPORTANT DECISIONS EMBODIED IN THE CSCE FINAL DOCUMENT CONCERNS CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES. THE CSCE PARTICIPATING STATES, DESIROUS OF ELIMINATING THE CAUSES OF TENSION AND DETERMINED TO STRENGTHEN CONFIDENCE AMONG THEMSELVES AND THUS CONTRIBUTE TO INCREASING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE, HAVE PROVIDED FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF CERTAIN MILITARY MANEUVERS. THE NATO ALLIES HAVE HASTENED SCRUPULOUSLY TO CARRY OUT THESE CSCE PROVISIONS. INDEED, THEY HAVE ALREADY GIVEN THE REQUIRED PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF ALL THEIR MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS, SCHEDULED THROUGH 1975. ADDITIONALLY, THE ALLIES HAVE VOLUNTEERED NOTIFICATION OF A NUMBER OF SMALLER-SCALE MILITARY MANEUVERS. THEY HAVE ALSO EXTENDED INVITATIONS TO CSCE PARTICIPATING STATES FOR OBSERVERS TO ATTEND

ALLIED MANEUVERS. THE NATO ALLIES INTEND TO CONTINUE TO APPROACH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN THIS MANNER.

THUS FAR, NO NOTIFICATIONS OR INVITATIONS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE SOVIET UNION OR OTHER WARSAW PACT STATES WITH REGARD TO THEIR MILITARY MANEUVERS.

THERE HAVE, HOWEVER, BEEN A NUMBER OF INSTANCES WHERE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA HAVE SOUGHT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ALLIES MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS TO IMPLY THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER, SIZE AND FREQUENCY OF ALLIED MANEUVERS SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE CSCE FINAL DOCUMENT. THIS IS NOT TRUE, AS THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES WELL KNOW.

IN FACT:

--ALL ALLIED MANEUVERS WHICH HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED WERE SCHEDULED LONG BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE.

--NO NEW ALLIED MANEUVERS HAVE BEEN PLANNED OR CARRIED OUR SINCE THE CSCE CONCLUSION.

--THE NUMBER, MAGNITUDE AND FREQUENCY OF THE NATO NATIONS' INDIVIDUAL, MULTINATIONAL AND ALLIANCE-WIDE MILITARY MANEUVERS HAVE NOT INCREASED THIS YEAR AS COMPARED TO PREVIOUS YEARS.

IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT THE MEDIA IN THE SOVIET UNION AND SOME WARSAW PACT NATIONS HAVE CHOSEN TO MISINTERPRET ALLIED GOODWILL IN IMPLEMENTING THE CSCE PROVISIONS SUBSCRIBED BY THE 35 PARTICIPANTS. WE HOPE FOR A CESSATION OF SUCH CONFIDENCE DESTROYING TACTICS BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES, AND WE
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LOOK FORWARD TO INDICATIONS THAT THEY INTEND TO COMPLY WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE PRESCRIBED CSCE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR OWN MILITARY MANEUVERS. END TEXT

9. ACTION: DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE BY OOB FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.
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